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The Communists have counted on the enthusiastic support of students. From among the students the Communists recruit their loyal cadres. Exposure to regimentation may lessen the student enthusiasm for the Communist regime. Although anti-Communist sources in Hong Kong have reported a sharp decrease in the number of overseas Chinese students returning to the Mainland, the fact that some continue to return to China indicates the strong appeal of Communist ideology to literate Chinese youth. The Communists, however, may be expecting too much of their program of indoctrination; the young may give loyal support to a totalitarian regime, but it is unlikely that they can entirely suppress a simultaneous impulse toward individualism.

D. Businessmen and Industrialists

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Few industrialists are left in Communist China today, but small-business men and manufacturers, who have made up the larger part of China's urban population continue to exist, although in reduced number. The merchant has always occupied an inferior position in traditional Chinese social strata, while industry is something relatively new and its position in Chinese society has yet to be clearly defined. In general, merchants and manufacturers, who had operated under government restrictions even in pre-Communist days, are cool-headed realists. They are not easily swayed by high-sound phrases. There have been few occasions when symbols of state could evoke intimate sentiment among the merchants and small manufacturers, except, perhaps, at a time when foreign goods flooded the Chinese market and caused dislocation of the Chinese economy.

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Under the Peking regime, business men and industrialists as a group fare badly (possibly not much better than rich landowners), and the general mood in industrial and commercial circles is most probably unfavorable toward the government. The Communists have made it clear that small-business men and manufacturers are only tolerated in the transitional stage of the New Democracy; and that there will be no room for private enterprise in the socialist construction, which is the ultimate goal of the Communist regime. Meanwhile, these people have to carry a large share of the tax burden and face the stiff competition of state enterprises. There is evidence that the business men and manufacturers, accustomed as they are to government interference, are finding the controls imposed by the Communist government much too strict, making it increasingly difficult to manipulate or elude restrictive measures.

If profit has been the most common motive among business men and manufacturers, under the present circumstances they have been forced to abandon or at least restrain their ambitions. Some of those who were allowed to do so have made a second choice -- that of changing their careers. The more adaptable have escaped the wave of purges by co-operating with the Communist regime. In this connection the Communists have appointed a number of erstwhile influential financiers and industrialists to serve in the government; it may be merely a conciliatory gesture of the Communists to win the support of small business, but it does provide the manufacturers some slight hope.

An aditional factor to provoke dislike for the regime among merchants and manufacturers is the

control on foreign trade. Merchants in Kwangtung cannot acquire cheap imported consumer goods to which they had had access under the former regime. The control on smuggling meets disfavor among Kwangtung merchants who live along the international border. 441 184

E. Women

The customary position of women in China is subordinate to that of men. This tradition was so deep-rooted that it took superhuman courage for the first women to claim their "rights"; and the pain of "emancipation" continues under the Communists. 562 184

To the "emancipated" belongs the responsibility; this is at least theoretically true, and the Chinese women who have exchanged one form of drudgery for another are generally expected to have a degree of political consciousness similar to that of men of equal education and comparable environment. In many cases women prove to be even more "patriotic" than men as a result of the unprecedented government effort to show women that they, too, can achieve enviable social recognition by a show of "patriotism."

How much improvement in the status of the women has been brought about by the Communists? Women are encouraged to participate in political activities; more tangibly and closer to their daily life, they are given child care, adult education, and other welfare benefits if they join the working froce. If the increase in the number of women workers in factories can be taken as an indication of the women's own free choice, then women in Communist China may indeed feel favorably disposed toward the

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Province which were made into joint concerns reached 102 during 1954, including two cotton-textile mills totaling 35,000 spindles; amalgamation was carried out in most of these enterprises. 471

The number of private industries in Kiangsi, Honan, and Kwangsi provinces was much smaller than that in Kwangtung and Hunan provinces. The only large enterprises were two cotton-textile mills in Kiangsi totaling 30,000 spindles; these were transformed into joint enterprises. However, the Communists did not lose sight of the many small industries, such as the famous ceramic industry in Ching-te Chen, Kiangsi Province, and the tobacco leaf-curing industry in Hsü Hsien, Honan Province.

Industry in Kwangsi and on Hainan Island had been least developed, and most of it had been owned by the government. Therefore, the Communists found little transformation work to do.

In contrast to its backwardness in modern industry, Central-South China has been rich in native products, and it has been estimated that there are 140 different kinds, including the straw and bush mats and palm leaf fans produced in Kwangtung Province; glasscloth, hand-made paper, and chinaware of Kiangsi Province; wood oil, ramie, bamboo-ware, and silk embroidery of Hunan Province; and herbs, medicines, copperware, and lacquer of Hupeh Province. According to Communist statistics in 1951, 35 per cent of the gross income of agriculture in Central-South China was derived from the production of these commodities.[5] 438 441

5. Wang T'ing-chieh "I-nien-lai Chung-kuo Kuo-ying Mao-i Ti Chü-ta Ch'eng-chiu ["Great Achievements of China's State Enterprises during Past Year"] Ching-chi Tao-pao [Economic Bulletin], Hong Kong, January 15, 1952.

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This means that a greater number of people were engaged in domestic trade. Consequently, elimination of the merchant class would seem to be more urgent to the Communists than transformation of private industry. 438 441

The Communists made great efforts to force the merchants to transfer their capital into joint state-private industry and to act as agents of the government-trading organizations. They thought this would solve the problem of unemployment and absorb commercial capital into industry. But in practice industry was willing to accept capital but not the personnel, while the merchants insisted on the inseparability of capital and personnel. Therefore, many preferred to sit by idly, spending their capital, and only those who had no capital became agents of the government-trading organizations. 441 471

The transformation of small industries, coupled with amalgamation and the elimination of private trade, affected the life of a large number of people and made the Communist regime in Central-South China an object of distrust. The Cantonese in particular are pugnacious and enterprising people who like wealth, and the Hunanese are noted for their obstinacy and dogged persistence. Many mass killings are reported to have resulted from the people's open defiance of government orders in Kwangtung and Hunan provinces.

The general strategy of using certain local leaders of the business community as a spearhead for government participation in private enterprise,

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by giving them high-sounding positions in government and newspaper commendation, was also used in Central-South China. The more notable appointments follow: 441 471

Chou Ts'ang-po, former manager of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank in Hankow and Chairman of the Board of the Hua Chung Chemical Industries was appointed to membership on the First National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conferece, the Military and Political Committee of Central-South China and the Hupeh Provincial People's Council.

Ch'en Ching-yü, general manager of the Han-ch'ang Chemical Industries was appointed deputy mayor of Hankow, and was made a member of the Military and Political Committee of Central-South China.

Li Kuo-wei, general manager of the Shen-hsin Hankow Branch Mill and the Fu-hsin Flour Mill, was made a member of the Second National Committee of the People's Political Conference and a member of the Hupeh Provincial People's Council.

Chien Yü-chieh, general manager of the Nanyang Tobacco Company, was a member of the First and Second National Committees of the People's Consultative Conference, the Military and Political Committee of Central-South China, and the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council.

The above examples show the general pattern of socialization which, together with industrial development, is one of the twin objectives of the first Five-Year Plan of Communist China.

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THE TEMPLES OF ANKING

361 The city of Anking is the capital of the interior province of Anhui, in central China. It is situated among low hills on the north bank of the Yangtze River, which there runs due east for a short distance, 370 miles from Shanghai, in lat. 36 9'N. and long. 116 5'E. The *Encyclopedia Sinica* gives its population as 40.000, which is probably as good a guess as can be made at present. Unfortunately the census of the Chinese Post Office gives only the figures for the Hsien, which is a district many times larger than the city. The city wall is about three miles in circumference, but there are suburbs outside the East, West and North Gates. There are lakes to the north and northwest, and about ten miles to the north is the Great Dragon Mountain (Ta Lung Shan) which is about 3000 feet high. The country is a fairly fertile agricultural district.
361 The language of the people is a dialect of mandarin, differing slightly from
191 that of Hupeh, but fifty miles north or south of the river the pronunciation has changed so that an Anking man may not be able to make himself understood by the uneducated coolies in Taihu, for instance. With a gentleman he would have little difficulty.

141 The city is not remarkable for any special products and is not of great
633 importance commercially. Good inks are sold there, but they are made in
361 other places. A tributary from the north enters the Yangtze outside the West Gate and there seems to be a considerable amount of trade carried on it in junks. Anking is not a treaty port, although it was intended to make it so at one time, but local opinion was able to prevent it. The river steamers

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441 633 361 call there, but only the Chinese lines have wharves. What importance the city has at present is due to its being the provincial capital, and I should say that one-fourth of the land inside the walls is occupied by public buildings such as yamens, gaols, schools and temples. There does not seem to be any chance that the city will be reached by railroads in the near future, and this has reacted against its influence. It is a rather sleepy, conservative, comfortable place to live in. For many decades it has been slowly recovering from its destruction at the time of the T'aip'ing Rebellion, but prosperity seems to be approaching at last, and there are one or two small cotton mills, a mint, electric light and telephone companies.

361 As Chinese cities go Anking is not very old. An imperial road from Canton to Peking went north from Nanchang to Kiukiang, where it crossed the Yangtze, and then ran diagonally across Anhui, through the cities of Susung, T'aihu, Ch'ienshan, T'ungch'en, Hofei and Huaiyuen, where it crossed the Huai River not far from the modern Pengp'u. Anking is located to one side of this road, about sixty miles east of T'aihu and south of T'ungch'en, so that whoever held Anking could control the road, which before the coming of the railroads was one of the main arteries of the empire. Yet it does not seem to have been built for this purpose. There are stories that the city is on the site of a fort built by the famous Tsao Tsao, of the Three Kingdoms, who lived around 200 A. D., but the Huailing Hsien Chih, which is the best authority, says that nothing was there until the Sung Dynasty, and moreover, it does not appear that Tsao Tsao ever came so far down the river. The accepted story is that in the 1st year of Ching Ting (1260) when the Southern Sung Dynasty was making its futile struggle against the Mongols, a number of wealthy families from Ch'ienshan founded Anking because its position, surrounded by the river, marshes and concentric lines of hills, was more easily defensible. The city makes an admirable bridgehead for a southern force and only recently was so used by the T'aip'ings, but the Pukow-Tientsin and Hankow-Kaifeng railways have taken away its strategic importance, fortunately for the peace of mind of its inhabitants.

The chief events in the history of the city correspond to the general

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792 794 778 The temples and their priests are supported from various sources. Some are endowed and receive income from land. Some depend upon certain individuals and families. Many monks engage in business, selling charms, souvenirs, and conducting tea houses and hotels. Masses for the dead and special services are very lucrative, as is organized begging, which is from house to house and not done on the street. For improvements the monks have to depend upon sporadic gifts. For instance, a few years ago one of the river steamers sank following a collision and three hundred lives were lost. A wealthy Anking man had intended to take that boat, but was warned in a dream and so saved his life. In gratitude he gave several thousand dollars to the Yin Chiang Tzi, which was used to repair the pagoda. The three state temples are state supported, but repairs are made by contributions to the K'ung Chiao Huei (Confucian Society), to which all the officials belong. The cost of the sacrifices there is paid from the taxes, but no other temples receive public funds, at least not officially. It may be said that no temples except those belonging to particular families rely upon periodic contributions from a regular clientele, as do most Christian churches. The 358 778 result is that the fortunes of individual temples vary considerably. Probably as a result of political conditions, the appearance and general upkeep of Chinese temples, at least in the provinces, cannot compare with those of the shrines of Japan. Grass grows in the courts, dust clouds the gilded images, tiles are missing from the roofs and the huge columns are devoured by ants, yet even in decay their beauty is impressive, especially under the moonlight, which brings back the appearance of former splendour.

778 444 776 Certain temples are used as meeting places by trade gilds, the image of the trade god being placed on a side altar. A list of the gods worshipped by different trades is given in Appendix 6. As far I have discovered them, the following temples are used by gilds.

Temple of the Fire God (Ho Shen Miao), — Fortune Tellers'and Barbers' Gilds.

Temple of the God of Wealth, (Tsai Shen Miao), — Money Changers'and Cloth Merchants' Gilds.

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778 Temple of the God of Thunder, (Lei Tzu Miao), — Cooks', Confectioners' and Shoemakers' Gilds.

441 The Hsun Yang Tao Yuen, whose god is Li Lao Chun or Lao Tzi, — Silver and Copper Smiths' Gilds. There is also an association called the 776 Central City Merchants' Gild which meets there.

Hsien Yuen Miao, whose god is Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor. This temple is owned by the Tailors' Gild and no one else worships there.

Lu Pan Miao, — Carpenters', Painters', Plasterers' and other Gilds of the building trade.

Ho Shen Tsi, — Gild of Barbers' Apprentices, a recently formed gild.

Temple of the God of Medicine, (Yo Wang Miao), — Doctors' and Medicine Dealers' Gilds.

Lung Wang Miao — Water Carriers' Gild.

779 ... When one attempts to classify the temples of Anking difficulties arise. The usual treatment of Chinese religion, taken from Chinese sources it is true, is to divide everything religious between Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Confucianism has generally included ancestor worship and the state or official religion; Buddhism seems to be fairly definite, at least in so far as the god, book or custom may be traced to India, and everything that is left is called Taoism. It is obvious that much of this remainder has little or no connection with anything that can be traced to Lao Tzi or his spiritual descendants, but we blanket the whole by saying that Taoism has degenerated and is now covered by a mass of superstition.

776 Of course it is a matter of definition, but I believe that after deducting 779 certain deities that are undeniably Taoist, like P'an Ku and Yu Huang Shang Ti, there remain a large number of gods whose cults it is better to treat individually and not as parts of any religion. For instance, take the City-God. He is part of the state religion, which is Confucian, in some respects, because the officials formerly reported regularly to him as they did to the emperor, and from the most ancient times it has been the custom for provincial officials to worship local deities. His temple shows Buddhist influences derived through Taoism in the Ten Hells of Yen Lo (Yama), and he is often men-

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APPENDIX 6

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Gods Worshipped by Different Gilds.

Barbers. Lao tsu.
老祖

Fortune Tellers Hsiao Peh Hsuen.
蕭伯軒

Bankers, Cloth Merchants, Vegetable and Live Stock Dealers, and by merchants generally. The Tsai Shen (God of Wealth).
財神

Water Carriers. The Lung Wang.
龍王

Physicians and Medicine Dealers. The Yo Wang, Sen Szi Miao.
藥王 孫思邈

Fish Dealers. Hua To.
華陀

Carpenters and allied trades. Lu Pan.
魯班

Tailors. Hsien Yuen, or Huang Ti.
軒轅 黃帝

Cooks, Confectioners and Shoemakers. The Lei Tzu (Thunder God).
雷祖

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Metal Workers and Innkeepers. Li Lao Chun, or Lao Tzi.

李老君

Actors. Three gods named T'ien, Tu and Ko.

田竇　郭

PROVINCIAL GILDS.

Fu kien. T'ien Hou.

福建　天后

Liang Kuang. Kuan Ti.

兩　廣　關帝

Hu peh. Kuan Ti.

湖北　關帝

Che kiang. Wen Ch'ang and Kuan Ti.

浙江　文昌　關帝

Hu nan. The mountain Heng Shan, one of the five Taoist peaks.

湖南　衡山

Kiang si. Hsu Chen Chun.

江西　許眞君

An hui, not in Anking, of course. Wan Kung.

安徽　皖公

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. For various reasons I could not find out the patron saints of several provincial gilds.